

Motor Racing Japanese Grand Prix

Hill takes world title with emphatic win

Richard Williams and Alan Henry

DAMON HILL followed his late father into the record book by winning the Formula One drivers' world championship on Sunday. The 36-year-old Hill secured the title in the most emphatic manner possible, leading the Japanese grand prix in Suzuka from start to finish. It was his eighth win in the season's 16 races, giving him a 19-point margin over his Williams-Renault team-mate Jacques Villeneuve...

points plus Hill's failure to finish in the top six. Both men started from the front row of the grid but Hill got away cleanly while Villeneuve spun his wheels and had dropped to sixth by the time they reached the first corner. The Canadian had clawed his way back to fourth when, towards the end of the race, his right-hand rear wheel and tyre came off. Hill pressed on relentlessly after Villeneuve had spun off, determined to depart Williams in style as a winner. "I never took the view that this championship was going to be a walkover," he said after taking the chequered flag. "Right from the start I knew it was going to be close and I had to take as much of an advantage as I could before Jacques got up to speed and got into the swing of things. "But it could have gone the other way, Jacques could have been champion and I would have been feeling pretty sick. But I know Jacques is going to get another chance. He is still very young and quick. To be honest, it had to be this year for me and I'm really, really delighted. "Jacques was a match for me by the end of the season but my motivation was to keep ahead and win the championship. I had the added pressure of having to finish races, whereas he was coming from behind and could take more risks." Hill's candid acknowledgement



Damon Hill is congratulated by his wife George after clinching the world championship title in Japan

that it was now or never for him in championship terms reflects an acceptance that the future will be an uphill struggle and that the F1 baton may have passed to a younger generation. Hill said he would dedicate the

race victory — his 21st in 67 starts — to the Williams-Renault team, "but if you don't mind I'll take the championship myself". His father Graham won the championship in 1982 and 1988, but died in a light plane crash near his home

at Elstree, Hertfordshire, in 1975, when Damon was 15. His son becomes the eighth British driver to win the title since its inception in 1950. "This is a terrific feeling for me," he said. "It is a tremendous relief to have finally won it after all the anxieties and the sleepless nights. "I can hardly wait to get back to my children, but it is especially my wife Georgie I would like to thank for this championship. She has been a tremendous strength to me all the time I have been racing in Formula One."

Now Hill moves to the TWR Arrows in an effort to build a new future from F1's second division. The Brazilian Pedro Diniz, who will be his No 2 there next year, had to leave Sunday's race in his Ligier after only 13 laps. Hill will take to TWR Arrows a renewed self-belief after rediscovering the confidence and edge he had in the season's opening races. Here he produced the goods under maximum pressure, casting aside the increasingly erratic form of the previous four races that had enabled Villeneuve to mount his barnstorming challenge. Jackie Stewart signalled his determination to steer his new Formula One team into the big time by announcing that he had signed Jan Magnussen, the 23-year-old Dane who has long been tipped as a future world champion, as his first confirmed driver for 1997. Stewart, the retired triple world champion who founded Slesnar Grand Prix last Christmas with his son Paul, knows better than most what makes a top grand prix driver. He has shrugged aside the disappointment of his failure to recruit Damon Hill and has concluded a four-year contract with Magnussen — and told him to stop smoking.

Chaos envelops Central Africa

Chris McGreal at the Ruzizi border post, Rwanda

THEODENNE KALENDA waited uncertainly one side of an invisible line that marks the border between Zaire and Rwanda, halfway across a bridge over the Ruzizi river. His neighbours watched from the hillside behind him. Some were no doubt pleased with their success in driving the village cobbler from his home. But there must have been many who wished they could have gone with him. Behind Mr Kalenda was Bukavu, a city that has given way to looting and anarchy as Tutsi rebels bear down on it. Over the weekend, there was fresh mortar-bombing by the Banyamulenge, Zairean Tutsis who have rebelled against a campaign of ethnic cleansing with remarkable success. The United Nations has evacuated all aid workers from the city as the prospect of a battle loomed, abandoning hundreds of thousands of Rwandan and Burundian Hutu refugees.

"People came to our house and told us to go away. They called me a rebel. We were threatened by soldiers who looted everything from our house, and said: 'You'd better leave or we'll kill you.'" Mr Kalenda's house looked down on the bridge across the border, but he feared he might not make even that short distance. "Some neighbours were kind to me and accompanied me to the border," Mr Kalenda said. "We were frightened of the military so we paid them \$40 not to menace us." As Mr Kalenda fled, Bukavu radio was broadcasting a declaration by the provincial governor, Kyembwa wa Lumuna: "Do not join the panic created by the Rwandan Tutsis under the pretext of recovering the land of their ancestors. The murderers want to kill us. We are asking you to be vigilant, to find these people who have infiltrated among the refugees," it said every 15 minutes. It sounded remarkably similar to the extremist Hutu messages broadcast during the Rwandan genocide. In Bukavu, many Tutsis have disappeared. Militiamen armed with nail-studded clubs patrol the streets. It is not clear if they are Zairean, or drawn from Hutu extremists among the Rwandan refugees. Tutsis have met a similar fate in Goma to the north, where rebels are moving towards refugee camps. The largest, Kibumba, emptied after fighting nearby. "It's tragic, appalling. We have a human river 25km long from the camp south to Goma," said Panos Mountziis, spokesman for the UN refugee agency. On Sunday several thousand Hutu refugees even returned to Rwanda — a sign of desperation as they have resisted returning for two years fearing retri-



A Zairean family flees the fighting between ethnic Tutsis and Zairean troops

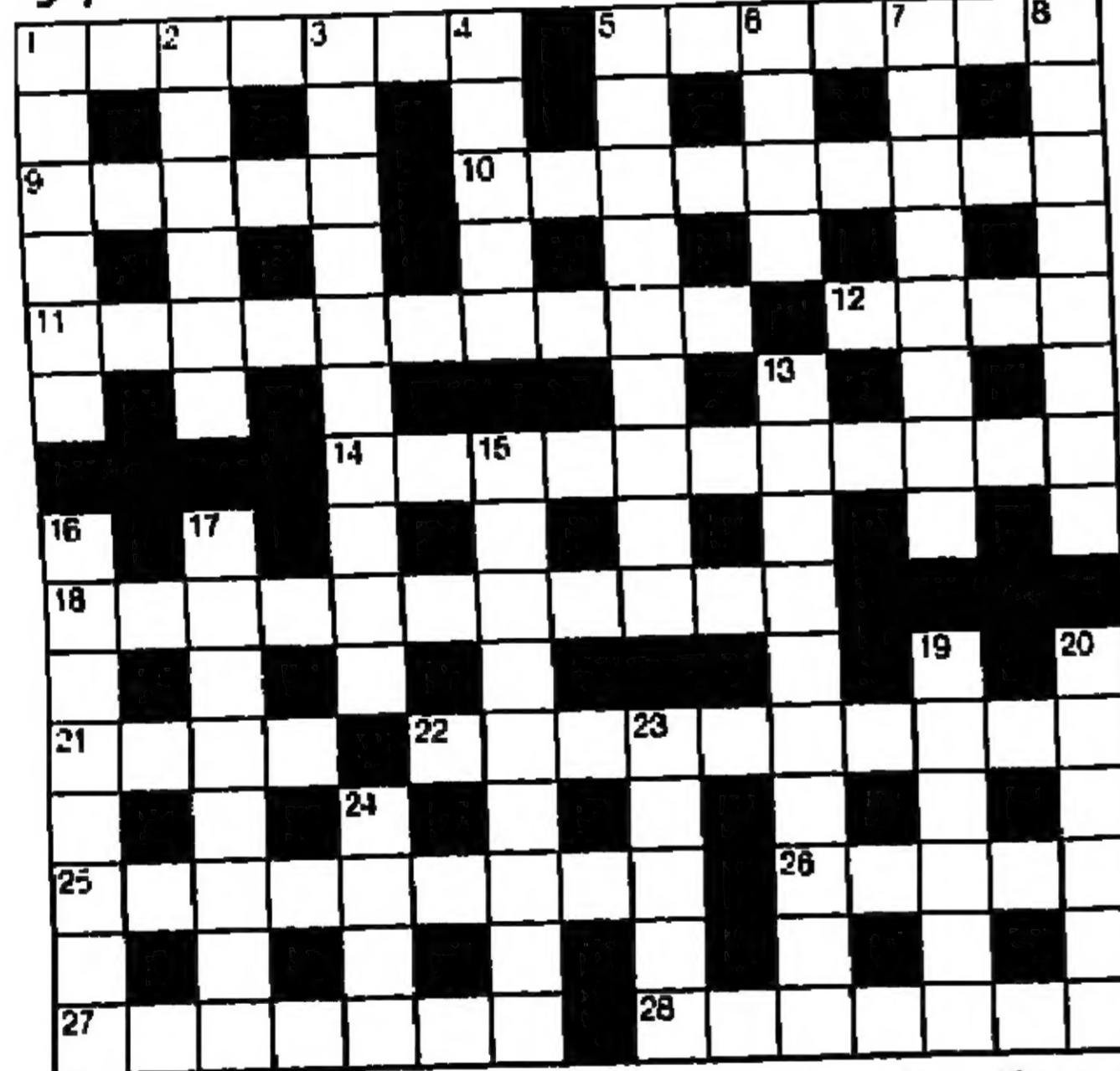
tribution for the genocide of Tutsis. Zaire continues to accuse Rwanda of organising and arming the Banyamulenge, or even invading, but the Rwandan president, Pasteur Bizimungu, denied on Monday that his country was providing military help to the Banyamulenge, though he said he morally supported their struggle against "extermination" by Zairean authorities. Observers strongly suspect the Rwandan military of assisting the Zairean Tutsi militias. The spreading conflict threatens the whole of Central Africa's Great Lakes region and the unity of Zaire. Zaire, the UN and Western governments, which appear powerless to intervene, are reaping the whirlwind of their callous indifference.

In 1994, Zaire's now ailing president, Mobutu Sese Seko, gave a home to more than a million Rwandan Hutu refugees as a lever to destabilise the new Tutsi-dominated government in Rwanda. Sheltering the refugees won him favour among former friends, such as France and the United States, which quietly dropped pressure for Mobutu to surrender power. Through the UN, the West fed and watered the hordes in the camps, and the world assuaged its guilt at ignoring the Hutu-inspired slaughter by pouring in massive aid. But this helped to ensure the survival of the Interahamwe militias, which had led the killing of Tutsis. The UN turned a blind eye not only to the past crimes of these mass

killers, but their efforts to perpetuate the slaughter. Mobutu now lies sick in a Swiss hospital, and doubts whether he will survive his prostate cancer as increasing the chaos in his rudderless nation. Meanwhile the UN is pleading for an end to the suffering of Hutu refugees, after standing by as those same refugees slaughtered thousands of Zairean Tutsis and set the present crisis in motion. Muller Ruhnibika, a Banyamulenge, is scathing: "For two years we've been telling people — diplomats and foreigners — it was going to explode. They were laughing in." Continued on page 3

Comment, page 12 Washington Post, page 15

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria



Across

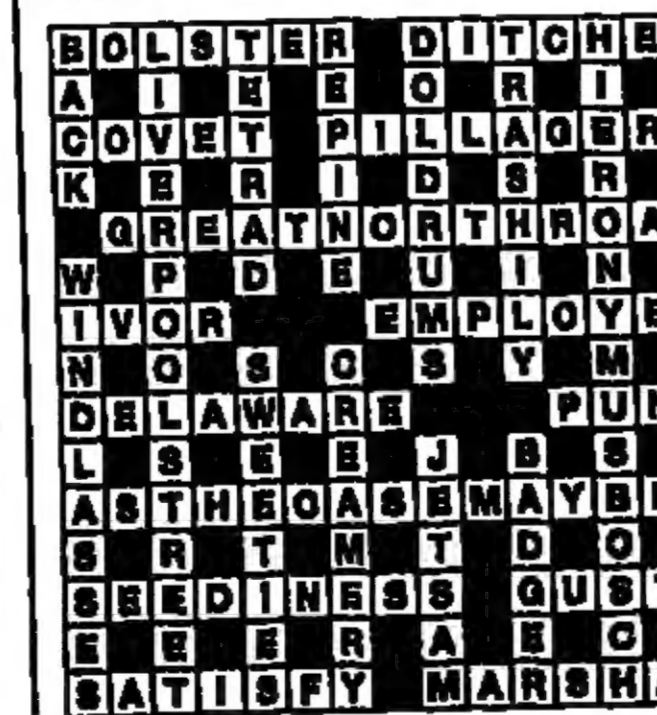
- 1 Servant holds second person in (7)
5 Two-headed phrase, maybe? Maybe (7)
9 Religious people tried to supplant 14 (6)
10 Troubles go in cycles in 14 (4, 5)
11 King Emperor's Island has right to make music of 14 (6, 4)
12 Utopian requirement of 14 (4)
14 Writes one-vol novel — this is one (6, 5)
18 How restless could be the hero of Nazi song (5, 6)

Down

- 1 Bee in 14 (6)
2 Continue to nurse Achilles, for example (6)
3 Gives false news about pier

- 4 Rich man, a Pole, for what he's worth? (5)
5 Spooner's vegetables from the Sun need cold water (5, 4)
6 Got up flower in 14 (4)
7 What 14 did to get 12? (3, 3, 2)
8 Singular effect of three sets for 6 (8)
13 Whisky producer flies off with paintings (5, 5)
15 12 or less, so cite a lynx (2)
16 14's author loses city, French and Deutsch, to birds (8)
17 Coloured base in 14 (6)
19 Evasive artist in 14 (6)
20 White wine from the Arabian coast (5)
23 City of Lorraine in 14 (5)
24 Divorce centre backed by person who wouldn't use it? (4)

Last week's solution



Golf Dunhill Cup

Quiet American victory

David Davies at St Andrews

PHIL MICKELSON'S flare-up with Jarmo Sandelin of Sweden before the United States went on to win the Dunhill Cup here for only the third time in 12 years. Fluent semi-final displays by Mark O'Meara and Steve Stricker were steering the United States past Sweden's Hedblom and Sjoland, but Mickelson and Sandelin's match broke that pattern. They were all square at the 12th tee when the American, according to the Swede, said: "You should show me some respect and not behave like that." Sandelin did not immediately understand what Mickelson was complaining about, but could not deny that whenever he holed a putt — and he had had four birdies at the point in question — he had been punching the air and celebrating in loud and, to impartial ears, obnoxious fashion. Mickelson, who had been displaying traditional courtesy, congratulating his opponent with the customary "good shot" or "well played", was obviously becoming increasingly irritated. The final straw came on the 11th green, where Sandelin made his putt, following it towards the hole as if with an imaginary machine-gun. Asked

by Sandelin what the problem was, the American replied: "This is a friendly game." To which Sandelin replied: "I know, but I want to win it." Outside the clubhouse Mickelson later tried to explain why he had spoken out. "I believe competitions like the Ryder Cup, the Dunhill Cup and the President's Cup are wonderful events to promote sportsmanship and camaraderie internationally. I think our match could certainly have been conducted with a little more sportsmanship and I was disappointed it was not." And so to the final, in which the Americans' slightly unexpected opponents were New Zealand. Frank Nobilo slashed his way past America's O'Meara but the remainder of his crew were cut down as Greg Turner and Grant Waite lost to Mickelson and Stricker respectively. Nobilo had a very good week. He deserved it, having played in every edition of this event since it started in 1985, the only man to have done so. But Stricker had an even better one, not losing a match and proving far too much for Waite on Sunday. The top-seeded American thus took first prize of £100,000 per man and the New Zealanders, seventh seeds, collected £50,000 each, a good reward for four days of golf.

EU unites in defiance of US Cuba law

Stephen Bates and John Palmer in Luxembourg

EUROPEAN Union companies are to be prohibited from complying with United States legislation aimed at penalising firms trading with Cuba, Libya or Iran, under an agreement reached this week by EU foreign ministers. The regulations, hailed by EU trade commissioner Sir Leon Brittan as "an historic breakthrough", will also allow European companies to reclaim damages in EU courts if they are penalised in the US under the Helms-Burton law. The US law, signed by President Clinton but delayed until January, allows lawsuits to be filed in the US against foreign firms that own or operate properties seized by Cuba from US citizens who were Cuban nationals before the 1959 communist revolution.

The Danish government had threatened last week to pull out of the joint approach because of fears that the regulations would infringe Danish constitutional sovereignty. But after intense negotiations in Luxembourg, lawyers found a way to proceed with united legislation from all 15 EU states. Under the regulations agreed on Monday, any European company will be instructed to ignore the Helms-Burton legislation if its interests are threatened and, if it is successfully sued in an American court, it will be able to claim back any financial penalties through a counter-claim in a European court. The counter-sanctions are intended to concentrate minds in the US government once the presidential election is over next week, and to head off the threat of court battles on both sides of the Atlantic. Sir Leon said: "The Helms-Burton

legislation is anathema to the rest of the world." In response, the US state department's spokesman, Nicholas Burns, criticised the Europeans for not joining with Washington in pressing harder for democracy and improved human rights in Cuba. "We wish the Europeans also had expressed public interest and made a priority of the situation of the many many people in Cuba whose rights are being denied by the Castro government. We'd like to see more talk from the Europeans about democracy in Cuba," he said. The British government, which frequently finds itself in a minority on sensitive issues touching on the power balance between national states and the European Union, is leading the fight for a tough EU stand against Washington. The EU agreement will not affect a case brought by the European

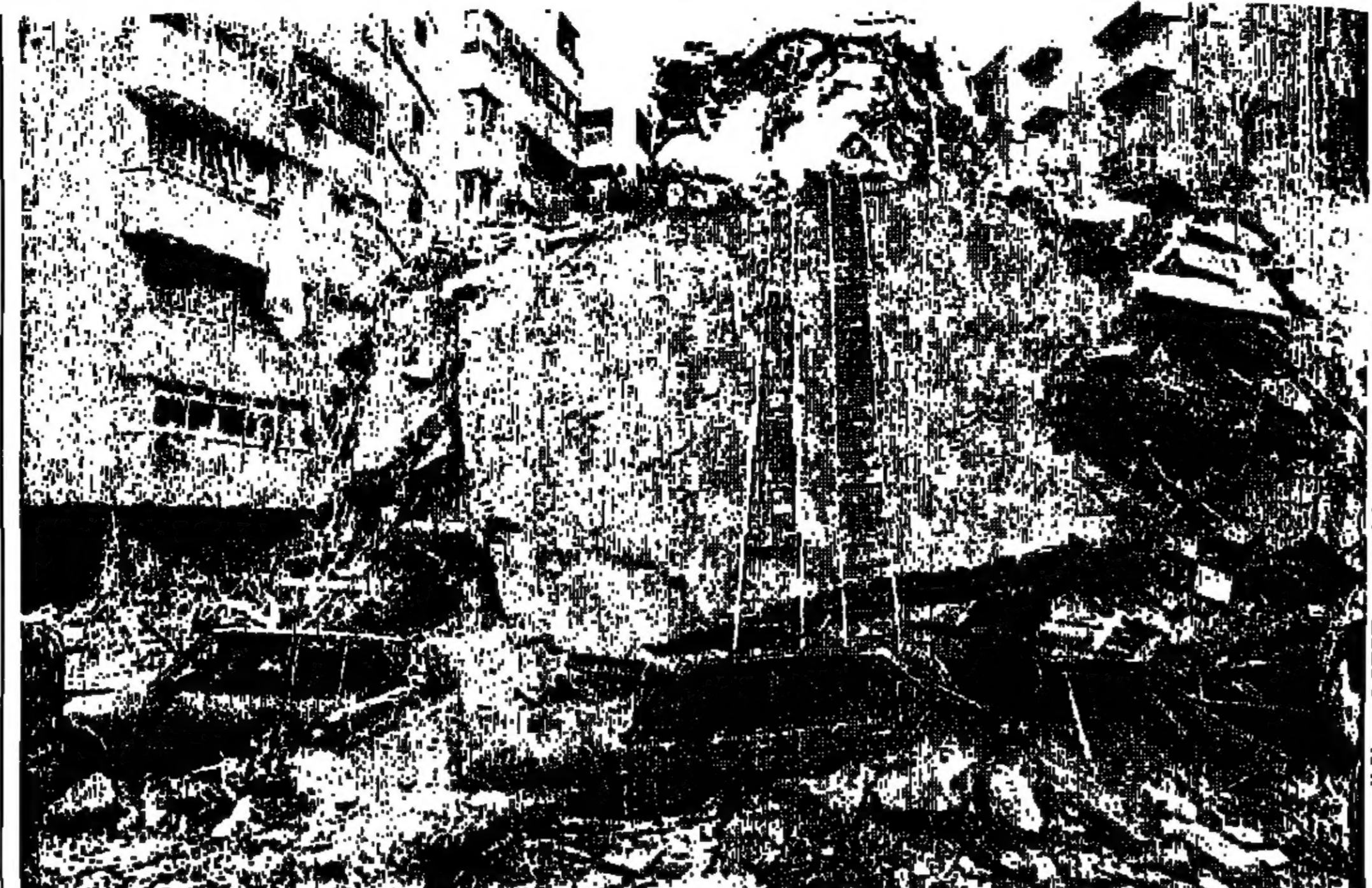
Commission against the United States at the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in Geneva. A WTO panel is due to convene on November 20 to rule on EU complaints that the Helms-Burton act is extra-territorial. The EU is still studying proposals to bar American executives involved in litigation from entering the 15-nation bloc and has already begun compiling a "watchlist" of potential litigants. The EU foreign ministers are ready to consider full economic and trade sanctions against Burma if the military dictatorship steps up repression of the democratic opposition. They imposed limits on contacts with Burmese officials in response to Rangoon's continuing failure to respect human rights. The sanctions will deny EU visas to members of the State Law and Order Restoration Council. Visits to Burma by senior officials from the EU and its members are to be suspended. The EU has already imposed an arms embargo.

Table with 4 columns: Country, Code, Value, and another Country. Includes entries for Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland.

Israeli war games belie peace talk

SHYAM BHATTIA in Jerusalem
MAJOR-GENERAL Uzi Dayan watched as Israeli troops participated in a mock battle last week to recapture the Palestinian city of Nablus.

prime minister for not seizing the strategic opportunity that was presented to him during last month's mini-intifada.
'Netanyahu voters expected him to end or at least suspend the policy of pullbacks,' said Yisrael Harel, one of the leaders of 150,000 Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.



An apartment building collapsed in Cairo on Sunday, killing four people and leaving about 100 missing and feared dead.

Austrian leader defies pressure to quit

IAN TRAYNOR in Vienna
FEELING in his worst election results in 10 years in power, Austria's centrist chancellor, Franz Vranitzky, is fighting for his political survival.

Frustation in his social democratic party (SPO) is putting pressure on Mr Vranitzky to resign. But he has announced he will stand again for the party leadership next year.

Lukanov, who died aged 58, had rubbed shoulders with Mikhail Gorbachev, the last president of the Soviet Union.

From communist gold to 'illustrious corpse'

A former PM died in a deadly struggle between mafia gangs, writes Julian Berger in Sofia



Lukanov as prime minister with his daughter Amy. PHOTO: KLAUS BECKMANN

ANDREI LUKANOV saw himself as a man for the nineties. When the old regime collapsed at the start of the decade, he transformed Communist Party rank into post-communist gold by arranging for state enterprises to fall into the laps of his comrades.

not the creation of wealth but money on its way out of the country. This summer the banks - looted by their own managers - began to collapse. Nine are currently facing liquidation.

he told us all these companies were named after stars in the Orion constellation, such as Mintaka, Hatisa and Betelgeuse. So we started looking up companies named after other Orion stars and found they were all connected.

aging files on Orion. The day before he was killed he visited his friend Andrey Raichev, head of the Bulgarian branch of Gallup. Mr Raichev says: 'He told me, 'Everything is finished. They are through.'"

tem of patronage and control, and when Orion bought Duma, the party paper, it was a stunning blow to Lukanov and his entourage.

Protests grow against Bhutto's government

SUZANNE GOLDENBERG in Islamabad
THREE leaders of the religious opposition party Jamaat-I-Islami were picked up in a police sweep on Monday as the Pakistani authorities tried to stop protests against Benazir Bhutto's government.

streets. They also paralysed much of Islamabad as police chased demonstrators down city streets.

EU presses Bogotá on BP

DAVID HARRISON and Melissa Jones
THE Colombian government faces growing pressure to launch a judicial inquiry into allegations that BP is causing grave environmental damage and collaborating with the Colombian military, which has committed serious abuses of human rights.

Palestinians fête Chirac

FRANCE'S president, Jacques Chirac, was given a hero's welcome by the Palestinians last week when he became the first foreign leader to address their parliament.

He praised Yasser Arafat, talked of the building of a Palestinian state, condemned Jewish colonisation of the West Bank, and implicitly backed the Palestinians' claims to at least a share of Jerusalem.

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Labour calls for combat knife ban

Kamal Ahmed, Michael White and Ewen MacAskill

POLITICIANS from all parties were this week moving towards a ban on combat knives as Michael Howard softened his stance against legislation to outlaw them. But the signs were that the Labour party was working on its own proposals.

Mr Howard, the Home Secretary, said he would ban combat knives, providing the difficulty of a workable definition could be found. There was a marked shift from his tone of last week, when he rejected Labour's offer to discuss how to surmount problems.

The Liberal Democrats gave a cautious welcome to an unofficial four-point plan emanating from Labour, with several barristers and police organisations indicating the unpublished document was a good starting point.

The four clauses forwarded propose that the suppliers of knives

would be required to say what the knife was for; that the selling of knives designed for violence be made an offence; that the marketing and advertising of such knives would also be an offence; and that the police should keep a list of prohibited knife designs which suppliers would have to consult.

In a Queen's Speech debate on Monday, the shadow home secretary, Jack Straw, brandished a copy of Gun Mart and Accessories advertising combat knives. He said there was a palpable difference between kitchen knives and combat knives, which had "no purpose whatever but maiming and killing people, and should be banned".

Mr Howard has said he will meet Mr Straw, who launched a national petition on the knives issue, if a workable definition is on the table. The four proposals could be the first step towards that.

The Liberal Democrats gave a qualified welcome to the draft document. "I would certainly react

favourably to the first three parts of the draft," said Alex Carlisle, the legal affairs spokesman, who is a QC and a part-time judge. "I believe that the parliamentary draughtsmen could turn them into workable legislation."

"Although defining the knives themselves is difficult, their marketing, display and sale is an appropriate target and could produce by agreement very workable legislation," he said.

The fourth proposal, which says that knife designs that are excessive for their intended purpose should be referred to the police, was more difficult to support as it could include some domestic knives.

The police have also given their backing to the proposals.

"It cannot be beyond the wit of the Government and parliament to arrive at a definition of these type of knives," said Jim Fraser, chairman of the Scottish Police Federation.

"These knives are available in cities across the country, and although some legislation is there which can



be used we are not against expanding that legislation."

A Home Office spokesman said there was a list of prohibited weapons under the 1988 Criminal Justice Act. Combat knives could be added if a definition could be found.

Secret arms deal exposed

Richard Norton-Taylor

THE Government has secretly approved the supply of spare parts for Argentina's warships despite repeated assurances to Parliament that its export policy has remained unchanged since the Falklands conflict.

Senior Argentine naval officers and Rolls-Royce executives have disclosed that an effective ban on the parts was lifted last year. In a move with echoes of the arms-to-Iraq affair, the Department of Trade and Industry told Rolls-Royce in June last year that the export of parts for the Argentine navy did not, after all, breach Britain's arms embargo imposed in 1982. The initiative, described by the DTI as a "reassessment", was never disclosed to MPs.

The DTI said it reviewed Britain's embargo after Rolls-Royce told the Commons trade and industry committee in May 1995 that Argentina was becoming "increasingly frustrated at the UK government ban on the sale of spare parts..."

In July, the committee reported that the Argentine navy was "still using British equipment but is obviously unable to buy spare parts or replacements". The Government has never corrected the clear impression given to MPs that spare parts were covered by the embargo, though some ministers knew it was incorrect.

The Government seized the opportunity provided by the debate on the Scott arms-to-Iraq report in February to accuse Labour of hypocrisy for selling Argentina the warships in the seventies.

● Argentina this week failed to win a licence to explore for oil off the Falklands and will have to wait at least another two years before it can claim a share in an area geologists believe could rival the North Sea.

The first licences were awarded to consortia led by Ameralca Hues, Shell and Lussno.

Andrew Gurr, chief executive of the Falkland Islands government, said that the Argentine company, YPF, had "much to offer politically but commercially, it was not sufficiently attractive".



Furies unleashed... Storms lashed the Bournemouth seafloor on Monday as the strongest winds since the hurricane of 1987 swept across Britain. Tens of thousands of homes from west Wales to East Anglia were blacked out as power lines crashed down in the face of 90mph winds — the potent remains of Hurricane Lili which hit Cuba last week. At least four lives were lost. PHOTOGRAPH BY LEIGH GREEN

Closed school fuels indiscipline fears

Donald MacLeod

THE discipline crisis in schools took another twist this week as the headteacher at a Nottinghamshire junior school announced he was closing it indefinitely in a row over a 10-year-old pupil accused of assaulting other pupils.

As members of the National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT) threatened to strike over the unruly pupil, Matthew Wilson, his headteacher, Bill Skelley, cited health and safety grounds in closing Manton junior school, near Worksop. He wrote to parents, saying he was unable to guarantee the safety of the 200 children if the boy attended. The school closed on Tuesday.

The long-running dispute over the boy has set ministers, local authorities, teachers and governors at odds. The confrontation has fuelled fears of increasingly chaotic school management and discipline, after a crisis inspection at the Ridings school, in Halifax, and a national

debate over morality and behaviour following the murder of the London headteacher Philip Lawrence.

Gillian Shephard, the Education Secretary, the local education authority, teachers' unions and school governors blamed each other for the failure to relieve the impasse over Matthew Wilson, whose mother insists he should be taught in normal lessons at Manton and not sent to a special school.

When the eight staff voted to strike if the boy returned to lessons, Fred Riddell, who chairs Nottinghamshire's education committee, intervened and the governors agreed in September to individual tuition. The governors have decided Matthew should return to classes, after spending £3,068 on a supply teacher for the boy.

Eileen Bennett, chairwoman of the governors, accompanied Matthew and his mother, Pamela Cliffe, into school on Monday despite a warning from the council. "I do not think it is a good idea to criminalise a 10-year-old by teaching him

in isolation. Teachers have got powerful unions but children have nobody to speak up for them."

Meanwhile education officials in Calderdale, West Yorkshire, denied charges that they had failed to support the troubled Ridings school in Halifax, where a teachers' union claims that one in 10 pupils should be expelled.

Ian Jennings, Calderdale's director of education, said the Ridings, created from the merger of two secondary moderns less than two years ago, had not made reasonable progress. But the vast majority of pupils wanted to learn, he said.

He rejected claims by NASUWT, which represents 30 of the 42 staff, that 60 pupils should be excluded: "There is a small core of disruptive youngsters, probably of the order of 12 or 13."

The result of the union's ballot on strike action at the school is due on Thursday.

Mrs Shephard made it clear she was prepared to send in a squad to take control of the school.

In Brief

FEARS of a looming teacher shortage have prompted the Government to clamp down on the flood of early retirement deals for burnt-out staff. At the same time, ministers intend to make it easier for schools to make younger teachers redundant.

TWO men were held in London in connection with the IRA mortar attacks on Heathrow airport in March 1994. The IRA claimed to have carried out the attacks, taken as a sign that it was prepared to hit high-profile commercial targets.

THE Government's "snooper hotline" is weeding out bogus jobless claimants and in September helped to produce the biggest fall in Britain's dole queues for almost two years, officials said.

CANCER experts have found no evidence to link the major water pollution incident that hit the Cornish town of Camelford eight years ago with a mystery leukaemia cluster at the town's secondary school.

THE Tory party has deprived its former treasurer, Lord McAlpine, of the party whip in the House of Lords because of his active support for Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum party.

MARTIN BELL, the 58-year-old television reporter who has covered 11 wars and been on assignments in more than 80 countries, has submitted his resignation to the BBC.

ANDEW NEIL, former editor of the Sunday Times is to become editor-in-chief of the Scotsman and other publications owned by the multi-millionaire twins, the Barclay brothers.

SAINSBURY and Asda supermarkets welcomed a campaign by Christian Aid that aims to highlight the human rights abuses of some suppliers. The charity has already singled out apples from South Africa, asparagus from Peru and tiger prawns from Thailand.

THE European Court of Human Rights rejected claims by four women who were sexually abused in childhood that the law requiring civil assault actions to be brought within the first six years of adulthood breached the convention on human rights.

GLADWYN JEBB, who was Britain's first United Nations permanent representative and a key figure in shaping the institutions of the post-war world, has died aged 96.

CHELSEA football club's vice-chairman, Matthew Harding, died in a helicopter accident, which claimed four other lives.

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Paying the Price for a Bankrupt Policy

COMMENT
Jim Hoagland

D ID Bill Clinton's need for quick cash influence his administration's decision to sell nine F-16 jet fighters to Indonesia's dictatorial regime? The honest answer to that question is yes; but not in the way Bob Dole would have you think.

Step back a moment from the campaign finance argument. Both parties have exploited loopholes and infringed campaign finance laws in this odious, cash-drenched election year. The Democrats seem to have been more odious, or perhaps less clever at subterfuge. But the Indonesian imbroglio tells us something that is ultimately more important.

That something is not about human rights. The Lippo Group and its agents did not need to make campaign contributions to have this administration bend its human rights policy on Indonesia.

This administration has no solid commitment to human rights, in East Timor or elsewhere. Its handling of China has proved that. So has its eagerness to sell arms abroad. As Kipling said of British journalists, there is no point in buying this administration on human rights when you see what it will do for free.

The driving force in this sale is the need of President Clinton — as opposed to Candidate Clinton — to unload those warplanes to Jakarta for about \$200 million and replenish U.S. government coffers, not campaign coffers.

Clinton has no trouble raising campaign funds. It is the money he needs (or a President Dole would need) to run sound and effective foreign and defense policies that is scarce.

This is the larger scandal of the 1990s: Both Congress and the administration have created a penny-wise, pound-foolish approach to maintaining American leadership in the world. Instead of integrating resources and goals in a common vision of the national interest, the Democrats and Republicans who form official Washington pursue narrow, short-term political advantage in their spending decisions.

The administration's panicky responses to the Republicans' slash-and-burn attacks on spending abroad have added to the general incoherence of its *ad hoc* foreign policy.

The enormous imbalance between a defense budget that receives no true critical evaluation from either party and the emaciated, politically unpopular foreign affairs budget means that a president has few levers of power to

pull abroad other than quick, casualty-free military intervention.

The F-16s that the administration plans to deliver to Indonesia beginning in 1997 were originally ordered and paid for by Pakistan in 1983. Delivery of the high-performance warplanes was halted when Pakistan's nuclear weapon development program became unmistakable.

Clinton publicly promised last year to return Pakistan's money. To his embarrassment, it proved politically difficult to squeeze the funds out of Congress. Instead, the Pentagon was told to find a new purchaser. The Indonesian deal would have sailed through uncontested had the Lippo scandal not surfaced and the Nobel Prize Committee not decided to award its 1996 Peace Prize to human rights activists in East Timor.

The Republicans are demanding an investigation. I'm for it. A public inquiry after the election might break the conspiracy of silence that both parties observe about the weakening of government and of American leadership abroad because of their misdirected budget priorities and fiscal limidity.

Neither Clinton nor Dole is being honest in the campaign on the costs of American leadership. In a speech he gave last week on expanding NATO into Central Europe, the president barely touched on what it

will cost the United States, an issue that will dominate Senate hearings and headlines next year. Clinton avoided any estimates of the costs, which a recent Rand study says could run between \$14 billion and \$110 billion for the alliance over 10 years.

The costs of cost-cutting are already apparent in Iraq, where the administration's failure to come up with \$2 million for cease-fire monitors contributed significantly to the eruption of civil war between the Kurds. Embarrassed by that fighting, the State Department is now belatedly trying to get the Kurds to agree to a new offer of cease-fire monitors. If the Kurds agree, the price is going to be much higher.

In any event, the administration has already spent 20 times the \$2 million the peacekeeping proposal would have cost on ineffectual missile attacks on Iraq.

America cannot conduct an effective foreign policy on a misshapen shoestring. The administration and Congress that take office in January must honestly examine the current budget priorities and change those that make it impossible for the United States to exercise leadership except by bombing before breakfast (in Dole's colorful phrase) or by selling warplanes to one unsavory regime instead of another.

U.S. Holds Up Arms To Bosnia

Michael Dobbs

THE CLINTON administration last week said it would hold up a long-planned transfer of \$100 million of arms to Bosnia's Muslim-Croat federation until the Bosnian government removes a senior defense official who is reported to have close ties with Iran.

The American demand for the resignation of Bosnian Deputy Defense Minister Haaan Cengic came as a chartered ship with 45 M-60 battle tanks, 80 M-11 armored personnel carriers, and 15 UH-1h helicopters arrived at the Croatian port of Ploce. U.S. officials said the weapons would remain under U.S. control until the Bosnians agreed to several demands, the most important of which is the dismissal of Cengic.

The arms shipment forms a key part of the "equip-and-train" program announced last year by the United States that is designed to create a rough military balance between the forces of the Muslim-Croat federation and the Serbian entity, known as the Serb Republic. The program has been hamstrung by repeated delays, many of them caused by hickering between the Muslims and the Croats over the creation of an integrated federation army.

State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said the equipment would only be transferred to storage sites when several "issues of concern to the United States are resolved on a satisfactory basis by the Bosnian government." A U.S. official later specified that the main U.S. demand was the resignation of Cengic, who was appointed deputy defense minister of the Federation last summer.

An Islamic cleric, Cengic is a longtime associate of Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic and was a co-defendant with Izetbegovic in his 1983 trial for fomenting Muslim nationalism in the former Yugoslavia. He has traveled frequently to Iran, and served as the go-between for the large-scale smuggling of Iranian weapons into Bosnia during the war.

In addition to Cengic's removal from office, Washington is also using the shipment of weapons to pressure the Muslims and Croats to speed up implementation of a defense law, which provides for the integration of their armed forces. The training of Bosnian soldiers began earlier this month by a team of 170 retired U.S. soldiers from Military Professional Resources Inc., based in Alexandria, Virginia.

In a separate move, the State Department last week called on neighboring Croatia to surrender a war-crimes suspect, Ivica Rajic, who was reportedly seen in a state-owned hotel in the Dalmatian port of Split. An arrest warrant has been issued for Rajic by the United Nations War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, on the grounds that he led the massacre of 16 Muslim civilians in 1993. The Croatian government has denied providing a safe haven to Rajic.

High Rents Force Foreigners Into Shadows

Keith B. Richburg in Beijing

THE BRITISH woman calls herself Emma, but it is a pseudonym, because she is a fugitive from Chinese law.

In an interview, Emma described the constant fear of the late-night knock on the door from police, of sleeping in a dingy hotel room with three others and only two beds, of camping in the courtyard of a dormitory where the nearest toilet seemed like a mile-long march.

Emma's crime, so to speak, is being a foreigner in Beijing and refusing to live in one of the apartment buildings specifically designated for foreign residents. On her meager salary at a film distribution company, Emma says she can't afford the astronomical rates charged at the "foreigner" apartments — starting at about \$2,500 a month but typically reaching \$6,000. And since she is not a diplomat, she is not allowed to live in the cheaper, subsidized diplomatic compound. So Emma has joined the growing legion of Beijing's homeless foreign migrants.

rents charged would make Tokyo residents cringe.

Those foreigners caught in the housing crunch often came to China as students and stayed on to teach, get jobs as journalists, start their own businesses or work for small companies on local terms — meaning that housing is not included as a fringe benefit.

"My company can't afford to put me in legal, foreign housing," said Raymond Blanchard, an American consultant who has lived here for a year and was just evicted from his low-rent flat near Beijing's Ritan Park. "They're shooting themselves in the foot. We're the ones bringing in the money."

Other foreign residents said they

"For people who just graduated or are looking for a job, it's really difficult," said a young European woman who asked not to be otherwise identified. She described the night police came to search the compound where she was living with her Chinese boyfriend in a Chinese-only apartment. She escaped by jumping over a fence and spending the night in a hotel lobby.

"It's really a problem — where do you go?" she said. The cheapest foreigner's apartment she could find rented for about \$1,000 a month and was far from her job near the city center. "No way I could afford it," she said.

Some here said an elaborate scam may be at work. In many cases, a shady landlord will allow foreigners to move in if they pay a hefty deposit, often six months rent in advance. Then, after the money is paid, the police come and order the foreigner to move out — and when the evicted foreigner tries to get his money back, he is told that the apartment has changed owners. Since the lease was illegal in the first place, the evicted foreigner cannot report the loss.

have been awakened by police after midnight in raids lasting until dawn. In some cases, police teams knocking on doors looking for "illegals" have brought along video cameras to film the offenders, then forced them to go to the station house to register, prove they are not living in China illegally, and sign a confession.

Blanchard said he discovered he had been evicted after coming home late and finding his apartment door sealed with a new deadbolt lock. When he was told he could not enter even to collect his belongings, he angrily kicked in the door and gathered his bags and a pet cat. "It's pretty harsh," he said. "If I didn't have a girlfriend to stay with, I

would have had to stay in a hotel — and I can't afford to stay in a hotel for very long."

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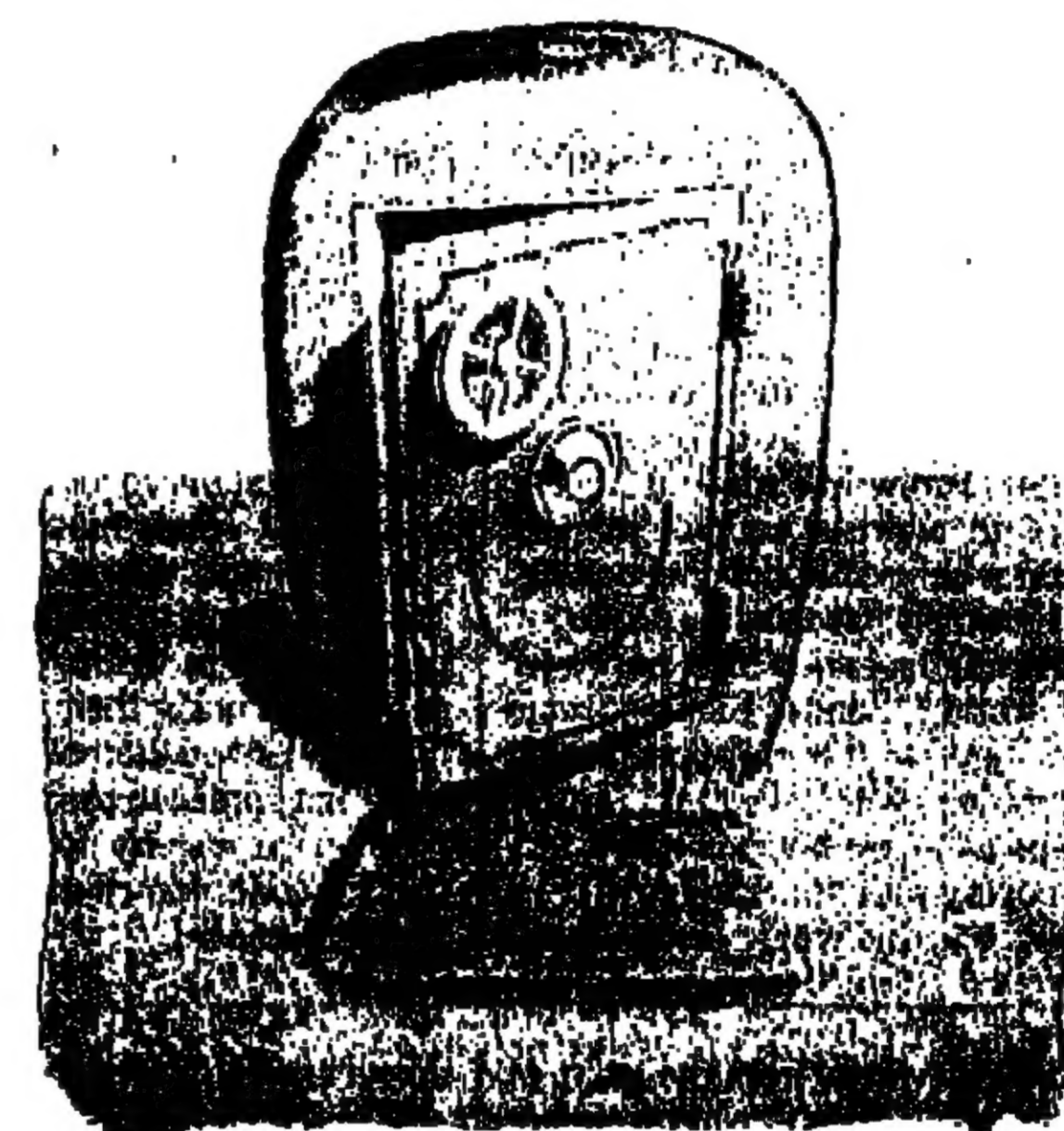
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Police Shooting Sparks Race Riot in Florida Town

Michael A. Fletcher in St. Petersburg

MANY RESIDENTS of this Gulf Coast city are proud of the racial progress made here since the days when black areas of town received few government services and African American celebrities were barred from the swank hotels that overlook glistening waterways.

But the sense of racial calm spawned by that progress was shattered by rioting that exploded here last week after a black motorist was shot dead by a white police officer. The disturbance left 11 people injured, 28 buildings and cars burned, and leaders here pondering the true dimensions of this city's racial progress.

"St. Petersburg was not known as a racially tense city," said Mayor David Fischer. "Something snapped on Thursday [last week], and we have to look at that. Racial relations have been pretty even. I wouldn't say they are considered bad."

In many ways, relations between the races are better than they once were. The police force is better integrated than ever, there are more black elected officials and the mayor says local government is spending far more in minority communities than before.

But those changes have made little difference to many residents of the largely poor, black southeast section of the city, where hundreds of people poured into the streets looting stores, throwing rocks at authorities and setting fires in an outburst of anger after the police shooting.

"It's obvious you've got a problem. People don't take to the street like that for nothing," said Fred Woods, 40, the owner of a small

restaurant, who sat outside watching workers demolish the remains of a liquor store torched during the rioting.

The difficulty for city and community leaders is to find a solution to the complex and volatile mix of race, class and economic problems that are sure to prove more daunting than the racial barriers that once separated people in this city.

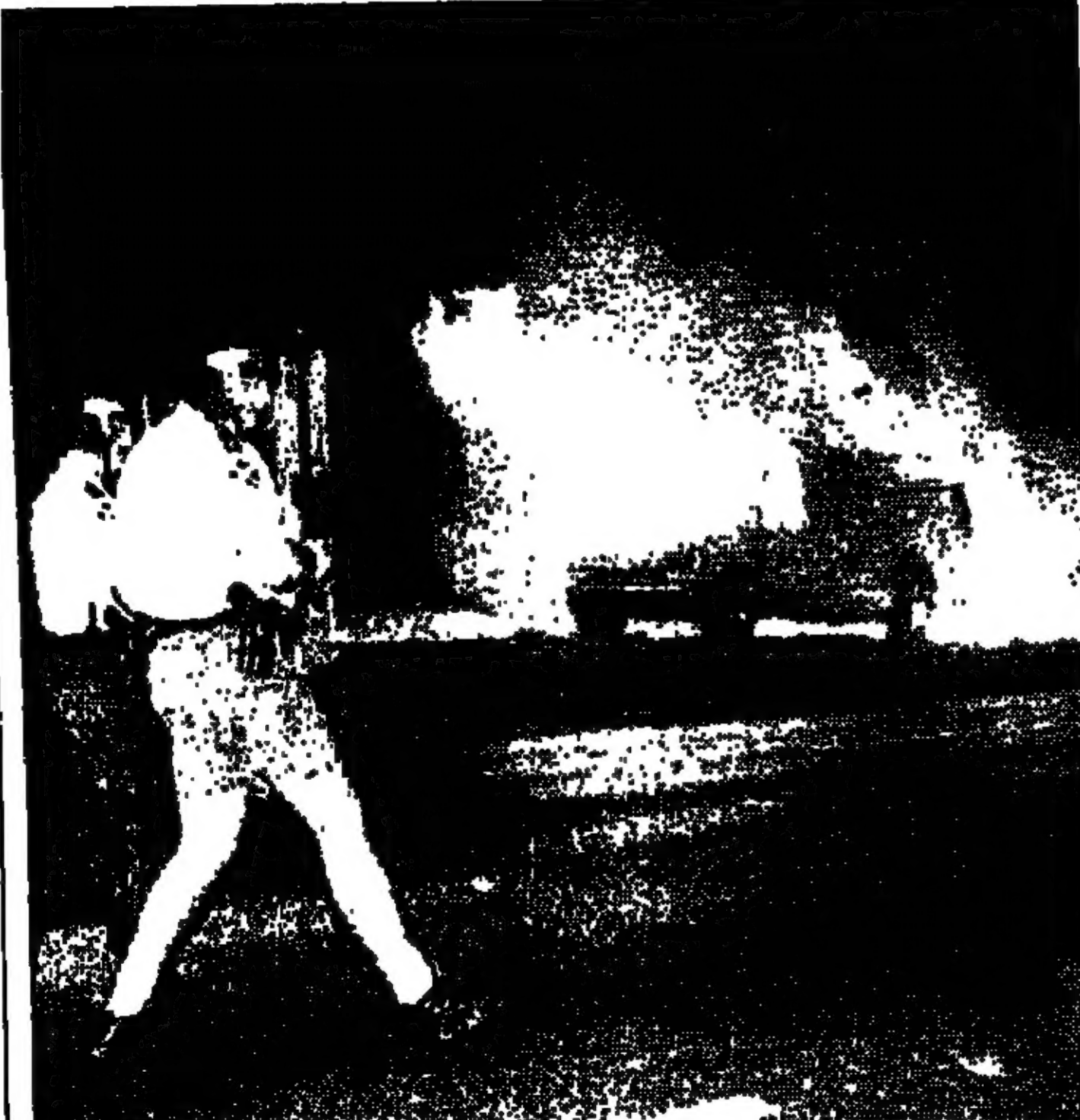
"If we are going to be successful in solving this, we have to get to the root of the problem," said Police Chief Darrel Stephens, who had been praised as an enlightened reformer before the recent violence.

Longtime residents say St. Petersburg's formerly all-white city government once was totally indifferent to the city's black residents. Trash collection in black neighborhoods was irregular, schools were inferior and the grievances of blacks were dismissed out of hand. A generation ago, when black professional baseball stars such as Lou Brock, Bob Gibson and Curt Flood came here for spring training, they were forced to stay with prominent black families because they were unwanted in the hotels that housed their white teammates.

Many of those problems have been addressed, in large part because of the city's tradition of quiet but persistent activism.

"St. Petersburg has always been a hub of activism," said Peggy Peterman, a retired columnist for the St. Petersburg Times. "We were always marching."

But while many of the old grievances carried a moral weight that ultimately could not be ignored, there is no consensus about what to do in the wake of the recent rioting. There have been calls for jobs and economic development in poor com-



Police patrol the streets of St Petersburg during rioting prompted by the shooting of a black man. PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN BAER

munities, but few plans to transform the calls into reality.

Even in death, Tyrone Lewis, 18, the motorist whose slaying touched off the disturbance, did not engender widespread sympathy. Lewis had a long arrest record that began when he was accused of shoplifting a bathing suit at age 9. He had been in and out of juvenile detention facilities for years and was wanted on drug and theft charges at the time of his arrest.

In an account disputed by some witnesses, police said he was shot after the car he was driving lunged at Police Officer James Knight, who along with his partner, had stopped Lewis and a companion for speeding. Federal, state and local officials are investigating the incident, which is the seventh police shooting here this year and the second in a week.

"This guy had a long list of prior arrests . . . His own brother called him a crack dealer," Mark Larsen, a popular radio talk show host, said in an interview that reflected the view of the vast majority of his callers. "The cops fired and took this . . . [guy] out . . . Should we be sympathetic to that? Should people riot for that?"

But to many who supported the rioters, Lewis's personal history was beside the point. For them, the issue was a police force that, while undeniably changing, for many seems to be as oppressive as ever.

"The community is totally fed up and appalled by the police aggression that has gone on here for too long," said Alverta Donaldson, who attended a meeting where residents loudly condemned what they called a pattern of police brutality.

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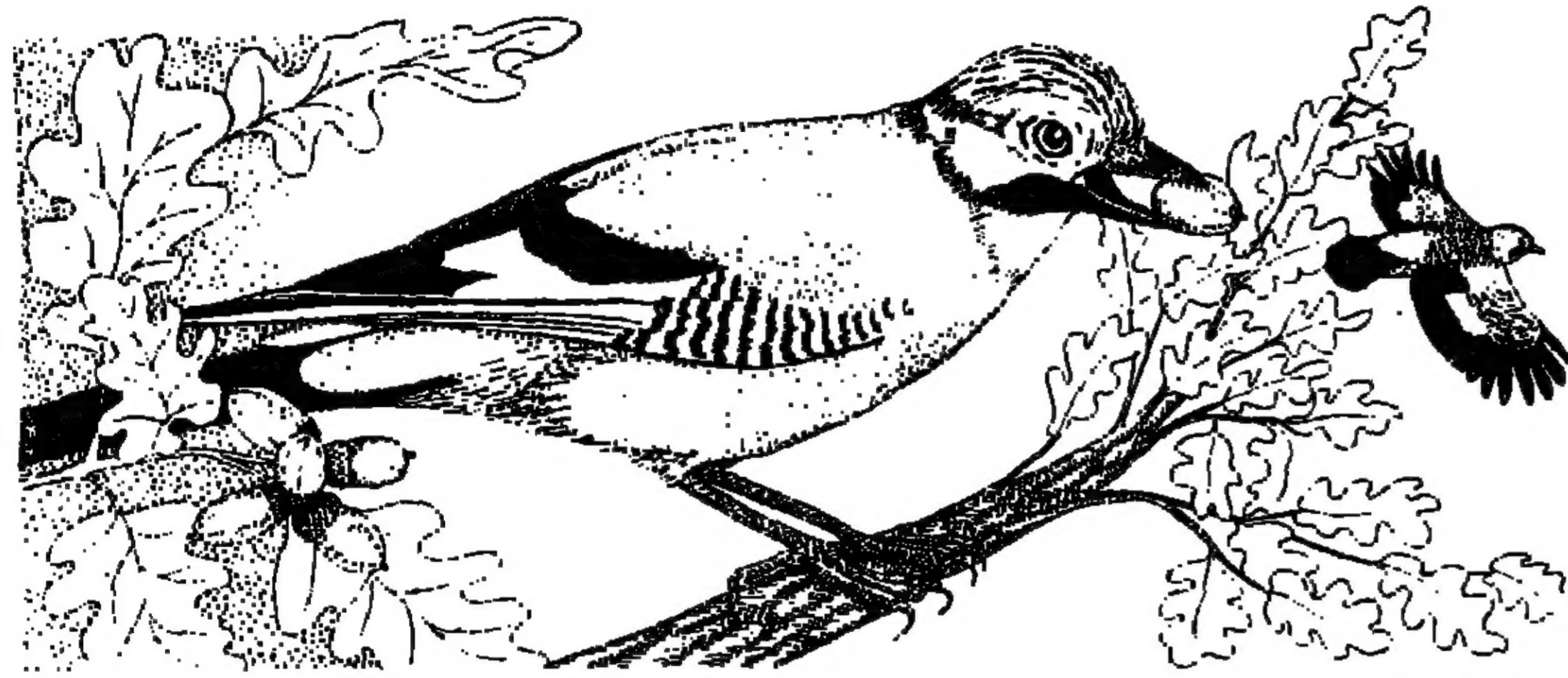


ILLUSTRATION: AIN HUBOBY

Tall oaks from busy jays grow

Mark Cocker

THROUGHOUT history the common name for one of the most widespread members of the crow family has had curiously mixed associations. For the English subjects of Henry VIII, for example, the word "jay" was a pejorative term meaning either a simpleton or a person in gaudy costume. Even in modern usage we retain something of these negative connotations when we talk of the thoughtless pedestrian "jay-walking".

close relatives have been busy caching thousands of tonnes of food. In fact, it is this brief but intense burst of activity that converts a normally shy bird into a highly visible element of the autumn landscape. At present in Norfolk, jays seem to be everywhere, flying between belts of oak with their curiously bounding, almost butterfly-like action, or hopping beneath the trees, scattering us with their harsh calls that account for one of many old country names, the devil-scratch.

They compound this feat of economic prudence with a gift for memorising exactly where they have left their harvest, sometimes digging through 40cm of snow to retrieve it. However, they never remember all their stores and it has also been shown that a high proportion of oaks derive from seeds planted by jays. Moreover, during the burying process birds favour open areas where they can keep a sharp lookout for predators — a location all the more beneficial for the surviving saplings.

Different members of the crow family have parallel relationships with other trees. In northern Russia, for example, nutcrackers do much the same with the seeds of aralia and Siberian stone pines. In North America the pinyon jay has a symbiotic relationship with the pinyon pine, while Clark's nutcrackers have a mutual dependence on a range of pine species.

It always strikes me as deeply sad that an aspect of the jays' behaviour far better known is their predation of the eggs and young of songbirds. But next time you're upset by the jays' slaughter of these helpless nestlings, or irritated by their painfully loud, screeching call, remember: a good deal of the world's temperate forests are planted by them.

Bridge Zia Mahmood

I'M OFTEN asked what my favourite contract to play is. Of course, it's wonderful as well as profitable to bring home a grand slam. But games and part scores are very often more difficult to play than grand slams. And since I play bridge for the intellectual challenge, I'd say that my favourite contract is one that struggles home after I've given it my best shot against a tough defence.

- AK643
- J84
- AQJ
- A5

West Garozzo	North 1♠	East Pass	South Zia
Pass	3NT	Pass	INT
Pass		Pass	Pass

Benito led the ten of hearts, which went to the four, three and king. It looked easy enough — I had a heart trick in the bank, four diamonds after knocking out the king, at least three spades and at least one club. Of course, if the opponents could cash enough hearts to beat me after I gave up the king of diamonds, then I would go down — but there wasn't anything I could do about that. So I played a diamond to the jack at the second trick. It held. What now?

Not fall under the ace. Yes, that looked good. Suddenly I saw it. The perfect play! I led the queen of diamonds from the table without cashing the ace. If the queen of diamonds lost, I had nine tricks as before. But if it was allowed to win, then I could establish the spade suit by giving up a trick there — I would make four spades, a heart, three diamonds and a club. The play looked unnatural, almost grotesque — but it wasn't. It was the reason I play this game.

- AK643
- J84
- AQJ
- A5

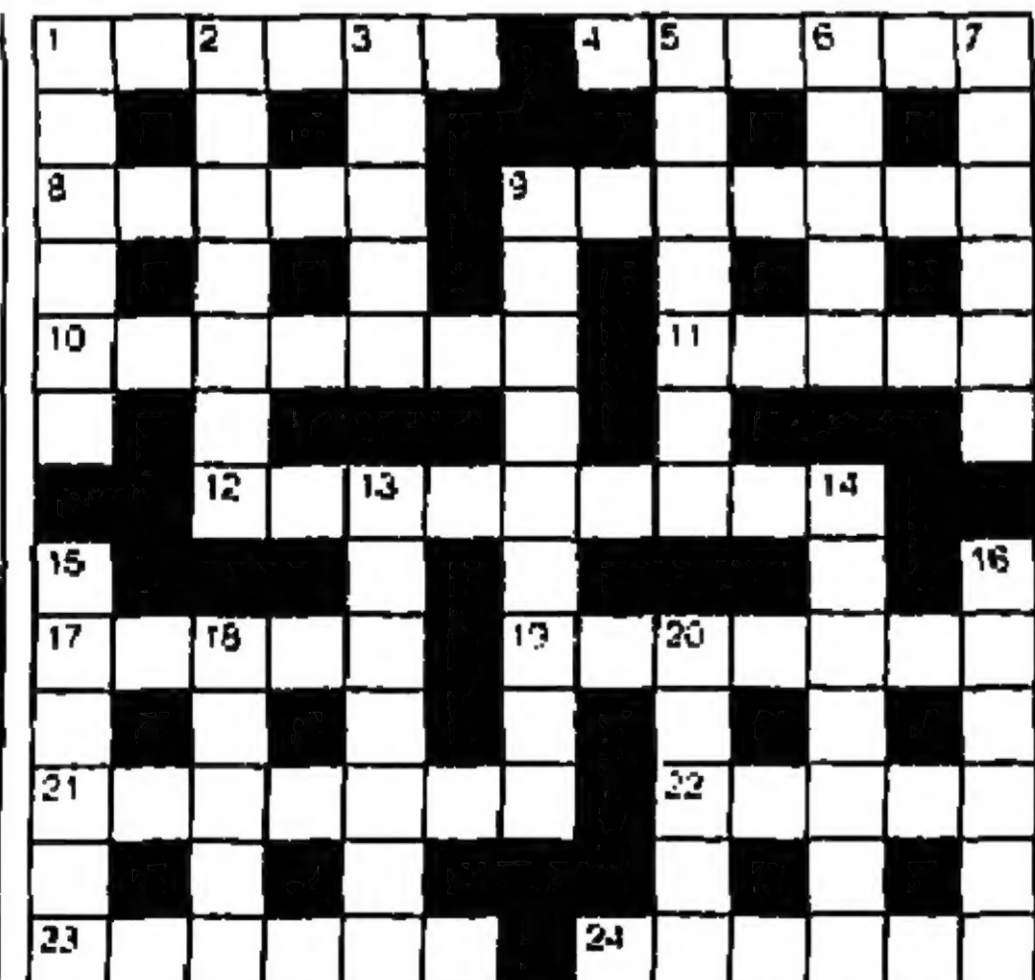
♠ 75	♥ 1082
♦ Q1097	♣ A32
♠ K632	♥ 8
♣ 942	♦ K8763

The cards lay as I had feared — West had four diamonds to the king, and the spades did not break 3-3. But there was nothing the defenders could do, as you'll see if you take the time to analyse the play. I don't think that any other hand has given me quite as much pleasure as this one. So I guess you'll say that three no trumps was my favourite contract. But I imagine that was the answer you were expecting anyway!

Zia Mahmood's paperback original, Ask Zia: Your Top 50 Bridge Questions Answered, is published by Metro Books at £5.99

Quick crossword no. 338

- Across
- Discussion (6)
 - Floating armlessly (6)
 - Grown-up (5)
 - Error (7)
 - Beat decisively (7)
 - Expert (5)
 - Official record keeper (9)
 - Fire-raising (5)
 - Hermit (7)
 - Flower (7)
 - Fragrance (5)
 - Gaudy (6)
 - Time — to add salt and pepper? (6)
- Down
- Scarcity (6)
 - Woman's bedroom (7)
 - Giant (5)
 - Hopellessness (7)
 - Likeness (5)
 - Agreement (6)
 - Whirlpool (9)
 - Beginning — of the Bible? (7)
 - Strident (7)



15 Talkative person — airship (6)

16 Stay (6)

18 Animal trail (5)

20 Pursue (6)

Last week's solution

```

G E E D E
R I T E
O U B T
Q U E T
C E B
K O O K
E L O
B E V O R
V I A
Y P A
A O
R E M E M
I I O
A B T Y O
O I I E H
  
```

Chess Leonard Barden

NIGEL SHORT and Michael Adams, ranked number 9 and 10 in the world, have developed a strange affinity in their results. There's no obvious reason for such a link, since although both have a fine understanding of strategy, there are also big differences in approach: Short has won many good games against the Caro-Kann 1 e4 c6, which is Adams's favourite defence.

maintain a consistent level of work and effort when there is no major goal ahead. So they are a foil for one another, and the even balance is reflected in the split of invitations between them at the elite all-play-all which top GMs enjoy so much.

No 2445

White mates in three moves, against any defence. Many solvers have been defeated by this fine old problem.

No 2444: 1 Ne3, If Kxd2 2 Bb2 Ke1 3 Bc3. If b2 2 Rd1. If Kb1 2 Rd1+ Kd2 3 Ra1.

New look fits Old Bill

PC PLOD and his old Prussian helmet will soon be on the last patrol, writes David Rose. Police uniforms for the next millennium will mark the most dramatic change in the appearance of British bobbies since their foundation by Sir Robert Peel in 1828.

Robocop it is not, but the new kit incorporates the latest technology. "Magic T-shirts", worn next to the skin, will stop a bullet or a knife. The new round helmet, in polystyrene and plastic, will have a built-in radio microphone and will resist the force of a baseball bat.

For women officers an old embarrassment will be ended at last: villains will no longer be able to see through their shirts, and for the first time they will wear trousers on patrol.

The old helmet, modelled on a Prussian army style, has been worn since 1863. It is a powerful icon of the police in England — though not in Scotland, where it was abandoned in 1935. But it has some nasty tricks. It falls off when an officer breaks into a



From PC Plod to PC Mod via the laughing policeman, to the Victorian copper of 1870, into the 1950s and now on to a new millennium

Letter from Châtalgnerale Peter Graham

Medical nomads turn native

IT IS often said that the French are a nation of hypochondriacs. That may be unfair, but they are certainly obsessed with matters medical: there is a plethora of health programmes on radio and television, and magazines like *Blanc*, *Etre Et Santé* and *Santé-Magazine* are read by millions.

The French also consume more tranquillisers than any other nation on earth. This they can do partly because of a health system that allows you to consult as many doctors as you wish, scooping up fresh supplies of tranquillisers each time.

strong hands often work wonders for people suffering from trapped nerves or sprains (which may be caused by anything from tossing too heavy a bale of hay on to a wain, to being shoved in the ankle by the snout of a 250kg pig). But he has been known to make his patient's condition worse — at least according to the local doctor.

THE zip didn't take off until 1918 when the US navy realised that it would make an excellent fastener for flying suits. The name zipper was coined in 1926, and has since been shortened to zip in the UK. — Nicola Baxter, Redland, Bristol

A Country Diary

THE LAKE DISTRICT: It was probably the best day of the autumn — even of the whole year. The sun smiled down from dawn to dusk and the visibility, if not as pin-sharp as sometimes in February, at least reached to the horizon. Most remarkable was the almost magical lighting — the blue of the sky reflected in all the waters and a growing russet glow over the fells. We were doing a simple local walk of perhaps six miles — from Arnside over the Knot to Far Arnside and back along the cliffs above the shore — but it had never seemed so lovely as this. Everything was so still, the countryside settling down for the winter with not a sound or even a movement, save as we topped Arnside Knott, the little train slowly moving from Gänge to cross the Kent estuary by the viaduct, 500 feet below. We walked up through cool woods speckled with sunlight, and emerged suddenly on the summit, bright as a stage with views all round to the lake and fells and Yorkshire hills and a vast seascape silencing the horizon. The sands of the estuary were plain to see and, far to the west, we could pick out the tiny blob of Irlay Island, with its ancient castle, where Lambert Simnel had lauded for his lordly but attempt on the English throne in 1486.

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

WHO invented the zip fastener, and when? THE FAST slide fastener was patented by Whitcomb L. Judson of Chicago in 1893. This consisted of a series of hooks and eyes that fastened together with a slider. The more modern type of zip, using a meshed tooth arrangement, was patented by Gideon Sundback in 1913. Zip fasteners were first used in men's trousers and did not appear in women's clothing until the 1920s. — Nick Spinks, Wford, Essex

Any answers? THE universe has evolved from simple beginnings. In the process, it has presumably been obeying certain fundamental laws of physics. But were these laws there from the beginning or have they too evolved? — Gordon Simpson, Hastings, East Sussex

Handwritten note: Special crossword

